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It would seem difficult to find a logical reason for group organization that would not apply with even more force to society organization. Indeed, the rivalries between individuals, under a competitive organization of industry would seem to be fiercer and harder to reconcile than the rivalries between groups. Stronger pressure on the individuals may render possible organization among them before society organization on a socialistic basis is possible, but it is hard to find justification other than on grounds of expediency, for a half-way position between individualism and socialism. The anarchist and the socialist are the logical men. Mr. Adams admits that socialism furnishes the grander ideal, but he believes that the niggardliness of nature or the laziness and selfishness of man makes the realization of this ideal impossible. One who believes that man's control over nature has reached the point where the product is sufficient to supply the reasonable wants of all does not see the need or the advantage of stopping at a half-way measure like co-operation.

WILLIAM HILL.

Die Socialdemokratischen Gewerkschaften in Deutschland seit dem Erlasse des Socialisten Gesetzes. By DR. PHIL. JOSEF SCHMÖLE. *Zweiter Teil. Einzelne Organisationen. Erste Abteilung. Der Zimmererverband.* Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1898. 8vo. pp. vii + 300.

THE series to which this volume belongs is meant to present somewhat comprehensively the history of a number of representative trade organizations in Germany. The author's point of view in the work is admirable. He announces a purpose of exhibiting the chief motives which have led to the formation of trade unions, the forces which have held them together, and the ideals which they have set before them, as well as the centrifugal forces and the difficulties against which they have had to contend. In the present volume, referring to the carpenters, this purpose has been well realized, though the promised information as to the "ideals" is disappointingly scant — perhaps unavoidably so for want of space. One is inclined also to quarrel with the author's method in presenting his facts as somewhat too generally chronological rather than logical. The volume is chiefly a discussion of efforts by the leaders to control the varying optimism

or despair of the men, the growth among the members of intelligence as to their own power as an organization, troubles with the police and troubles between the extreme social democrats among the carpenters, and what would be called in America the "pure and simple" trade unionists.

The controversy regarding socialism is not unlike the dispute over the subject in many American unions. When the League of German Carpenters ("Verband Deutscher Zimmerleute") was established in the early eighties, it was designed by the principal leaders to avoid making it an organ for advancing the socialist cause. The socialists became aggressive; there was fierce debate, the socialists being charged with a desire to wreck the union, and in return charging their opponents with a lack of "class-consciousness," and with being willful deceivers of the workingmen in order to advance their own interests. The socialists failed to gain control, and so formed a new organization, the Free Union of Carpenters ("Freie Vereinigung der Zimmerer").

Among American trade unions, certain organizations or factions of a socialistic complexion have sometimes incurred a suspicion of lacking (as compared with their non-socialist fellow-workmen) those qualities of discipline and self-sacrifice so peculiarly essential to the success of their scheme. The sturdier elements, who might less improbably hope to maintain a co-operative commonwealth, are apparently those who refuse such a project. Dr. Schmöle makes a charge somewhat like this against the extreme socialists among the German carpenters. "The same men," he says, "who represent it as the simplest thing in the world to regulate from one central authority the entire production (or even the consumption) of an entire land, often strive with all their strength against being themselves subordinated to any but merely local control. They will at most acquiesce in the various forms of local organization. The worst example in this respect is exhibited by many of the trade unionists of some large places who invariably insist on following their own way instead of striving to be the supporters and champions of the whole organization." This impatience of restraint was shown in the constitution of the socialist union at its formation in 1887, by a secession from the *Verband*. The new organization was to have no authoritative central leadership. The local organizations were to devote themselves chiefly to socialist agitation. As a subordinate object they were to give assistance in strikes. The treasuries of the local unions were to

be supplied by merely voluntary offerings, and these funds were to be used chiefly for political agitation. So far as they were employed in strikes they were to be sent directly from the local unions to the assisted strikers. The general officers were to have no control over this money, and their function was that of an agitation committee. Failure of course attended this naïve dependence upon a sense of solidarity to give consistency and vigor to the system. The meeting at which the union was formed had been attended by only eleven persons, representing an inconsiderable body of constituents, and during the first year only two new local societies were formed. The collections yielded practically nothing. The police were aggressively hostile, though the absence of any ostensible connection between the local unions had been thought of as avoiding danger from the laws as to political societies. The non-socialist society meantime was, on the whole, comparatively prosperous. At its organization (in 1883) the payments by members were fixed at 50 pfennigs on initiation, and a monthly payment of 30 to 50 pfennigs, according to the wages received. When the general session took place in 1889, its membership was 10,500 in 131 local unions, of which 52 had been formed during the year. An increase of wages was interpreted as due to the assistance which it rendered in strikes. But when the good times came to an end, both organizations were ready for compromise. The socialist union was evidently a failure from the first. The non-socialists, humbled by the defeats which followed their brief successes, realized that they must convert the extremists from enemies to allies. They are said also to have admitted a superiority in the policy of their rivals so far as it meant the formal education of the workmen in a sense of "class solidarity." The two united, the non-socialistic organization practically absorbing the socialist. It is to be understood that the "Verband" has not at any time been anti-socialistic. Its members are said to be all socialists, yet they believe it to be the best policy, especially out of regard for the existing laws, to limit their organization to non-political functions.

This course seems to have been fairly successful in avoiding the penalties of the laws against socialists, but a second occasion for interference by government arose from the decision of the police that the union must submit to the regulations prescribed for insurance societies, as it gave aid to its members in times of unemployment during strikes or at other times, in return for regular payments. This

difficulty has been met by striking out from the constitution of the union those passages upon which the police and the courts based their decisions. It appears, also, that the courts have been growing more liberal on this point within a decade.

The great fact in the history of the carpenters' union (as in trade unions elsewhere) has been the growth of prudence and a healthy *esprit de corps*. The men have learned the folly of hasty strikes, and undue confidence in their power as an organization. Another instance is thus offered in exemplification of the fact which is the chief justification of all government and nearly all organization among men; leadership among great bodies of men tends to rest with those who are above the average in intelligence and character, while the mass, as a rule, learn to respect increasingly the advantage to themselves of wise leadership, and to accept more and more the policy of restraint and caution which the leaders are generally first to adopt.

A. P. WINSTON.

Grundriss des Gewerberechts und der Arbeiterversicherung. (Grundriss des Oesterreichischen Rechts, Dritter Band, Fünfte Abtheilung.) By DR. VICTOR MATAJA. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot. 8vo. pp. 137.

INDUSTRIAL legislation in Austria during the present century divides itself into periods at two cardinal points. In 1859 a compact and uniform code took the place of a mass of enactments which were fragmentary and full of local variations. At the same time the principle of free contract came to be distinctly recognized. For about a quarter of a century the *laissez faire* principle was predominant, and the government maintained an attitude of indifference to the conflict between workmen and employers; but about 1885 the current of legislation set strongly toward protection to the workmen. As a resultant of these two combined tendencies there is now in force a body of laws in general like those labor laws with which we are familiar in the United States, in which the general principle of free contract is tempered by the exercise of the police power. The legislative methods of the guild period are still perpetuated by another very different class of laws imposing upon the trade associations, in which membership by workmen and employers is compulsory, a variety of functions in